

# THE STORY OF TAMMANY HALL FROM THE INSIDE

## HOLDING A LEADERSHIP MEANS CONTINUAL BATTLE

A TAMMANY HALL district leader having once earned his leadership must be ever on the alert to hold and defend it. He must not only keep track of the maneuvers of his political opponents but also look out for signs of revolt in his own organization. There have been instances only a few, however, in which a leader considered powerful and secure in his control has suddenly been swept aside by a rival. But in such cases it has been shown after the battle that the leader either had been too confident of his popularity and power or through lack of interest had not taken the precaution to guard himself. Usually when a leader is dethroned it is the result of a well-organized campaign.

It has been pointed out that one method of the district leader in maintaining control is to see that the workers, the men who engage actively in the affairs of the district, are rewarded. This is a source of weakness as well as strength, as the distribution of rewards must sometimes lead to dissatisfaction. Then each district organization is apt to contain men who for various other reasons oppose the rule of the leader. One may be inspired by a desire to gain political prestige by running the district himself. Another may feel that the best interests of the district are not being served. These malcontents add to the worries of the leader and sometimes bring about open revolts.

As a result there has been in the Tammany organization much turmoil. It has happened that the leadership of the organization itself has been in dispute. This has meant a lineup of the district leaders themselves. But before this lineup there has been skirmishing, battling to bring about the election of district leaders whose sympathies would insure the choice of this candidate or that for the post of supreme leader, or as he is popularly known, boss of Tammany Hall.

The methods used to carry on a fight for the leadership of a district are varied. A good deal depends on the characteristics of the voters of the district. The campaign may be fought along lines which would hardly disclose to the uninitiated that an important contest was going on. There may be a few district meetings by both factions, but on the whole the efforts may consist mainly in formal appeals to the voters. In a contest of this kind if the leader has sub-leutenants, or district captains, as they are called, who still control their subdivisions of the district, there is little chance for the opposition.

When there is an open and hot battle for the leadership, when the merits of the contestants are discussed freely and heatedly at street corners, in saloons, barber shops and other meeting places, the methods of warfare are different. These fights, and that is the proper name for them, have resulted in many lively scandals and much animosity, the fruits of which have not healed for years.

The tactics adopted have on occasions consisted in employing husky individuals from without the district to act as industrious voters on primary day. These invaders have been known to use strong arm methods to intimidate the opposition, who have been fired and there has been much disorder. It has happened that the police on duty at the polls have shown indifference to the warfare of one candidate and energetic approval of the other. But recently the activities of the police in election contests have not been noticeable.

In some districts the leaders have gone on year after year without serious opposition. There are, on the other hand, certain districts which would feel themselves neglected if they went a year without a contest or the prospect of one. Some leaders have been obliged to be constantly on the firing line ready for an engagement in order to retain their leadership. Sometimes they have been ousted, only to keep on the front and win back the badge of leadership. But these men have been in the game for sheer love of battling politics.

Conditions are ever changing, and in these days to carry on a fight for leadership or to defend a leadership means a considerable outlay of money in addition to the unceasing work required. With this situation in mind, leaders have stepped down and out or turned their leadership over to an understudy rather than continue to take part in a constant struggle.

## F. J. GOODWIN, FIGHTING LEADER OF THE SEVENTH

NO other man in the game of politics in this city has had to battle for a title as hard as Frank J. Goodwin, who is the executive member of the Seventh Assembly district. Year after year he found himself obliged to defend the title against such men as the late John C. Sheehan and William B. Devery, "the last Chief of Police New York ever had." Once Devery, or Big Bill, as he was called, wrested the laurels from Goodwin, but the following year Goodwin regained them and since that time there has been plain sailing for him.

It is practically fourteen years since the Seventh district had a battle that stands out in the political history of the city. John C. Sheehan formerly lived at 464 West Twenty-third street and had been the leader of the district for ten years. He had succeeded James Barker, who had for many years been the leader of the district. Barker is now 83 years old. He is a member of Goodwin's club and is on the board of directors. He is a frequent caller at the clubhouse and is not infrequently called into the councils of the district organization.

When Sheehan was in control of the district organization Goodwin was one of his election district captains. Other strong lieutenants were Frank L. Dowling, now President of the Board of Aldermen, and Thomas F. Smith, secretary to Tammany Hall. Sheehan was a member of the old bipartisan Board of Police Commissioners and had a great deal of patronage in his control.

A big revolt against Richard Croker was started by Sheehan in 1899. Croker had made a trip to Europe and in his absence Sheehan started a fight to oust Croker from the head of the organization. He made his plans known to his intimates in his political club and among those taken into his confidence were Goodwin and Tom Smith.

Both men declared themselves as being for the organization and held the proposition to go after the seat of Croker. With several of their close friends they broke from Sheehan and organized the Horatio Seymour Tammany Club, at Twenty-fourth street and Eighth avenue. This was but a block away from the headquarters of the Sheehan faction and interest in the contest was at once awakened.

Goodwin was picked out as the man to beat Sheehan at the primaries and he made a lively canvass. It was an exciting campaign and both sides were cautious, for it was the first election held under the then new primary law. This law provided for the election of a general committee, which in turn chose the executive member to represent the district in the councils of Tammany Hall. The contest was a bitter one and all sorts of charges were made on both sides. When the votes were counted Goodwin found he had been beaten by thirty votes.

Sheehan had been such a power in the Tammany ranks that his followers argued that he could not be dethroned by one of his old time district captains. The small margin by which Sheehan won gave renewed vigor to Goodwin and his supporters and they set to work to gather up the loose ends of the fight just over. Consequently when the primary day came around the next year they had a smoothly working machine with which to renew the contest against Sheehan.

In the 1900 contest Goodwin won the delegates to the Kansas City convention, at which William Jennings Bryan was nominated for President. Then he beat Sheehan as the leader of the district. Sheehan decided that he had had about enough fighting and the following year there was no contest. But in 1902 Devery came to the front and announced that he was after the political head of Frank Goodwin. Devery had not long ceased to be Chief of Police and he was supposed to have considerable power.

This was the liveliest campaign New York ever saw in a primary fight. Devery personally took the stump, as

did Goodwin. This was an innovation in a contest for leadership, for the practice up to that time had been to make the fight through the district captains and those interested in the outcome of the battle. Devery made his headquarters at the "pump" at Twenty-eighth street and Eighth avenue, and it was there that he gave out many an interview that made him famous not only in his own district but throughout the country. The fight was a hot one in many ways and at the conclusion Goodwin found that he had lost by about 800 votes. Devery had captured most of Goodwin's captains and had made other inroads on his organization.

In talking about this fight Goodwin said that Devery had made a wonderful campaign, that he had set the district afire from the day he announced his candidacy. "All hell couldn't have stopped him," is the way Goodwin summed it up. After the smoke of the battle cleared away Devery went to the State convention at Saratoga, taking along his delegates. Goodwin was also there with his delegates and

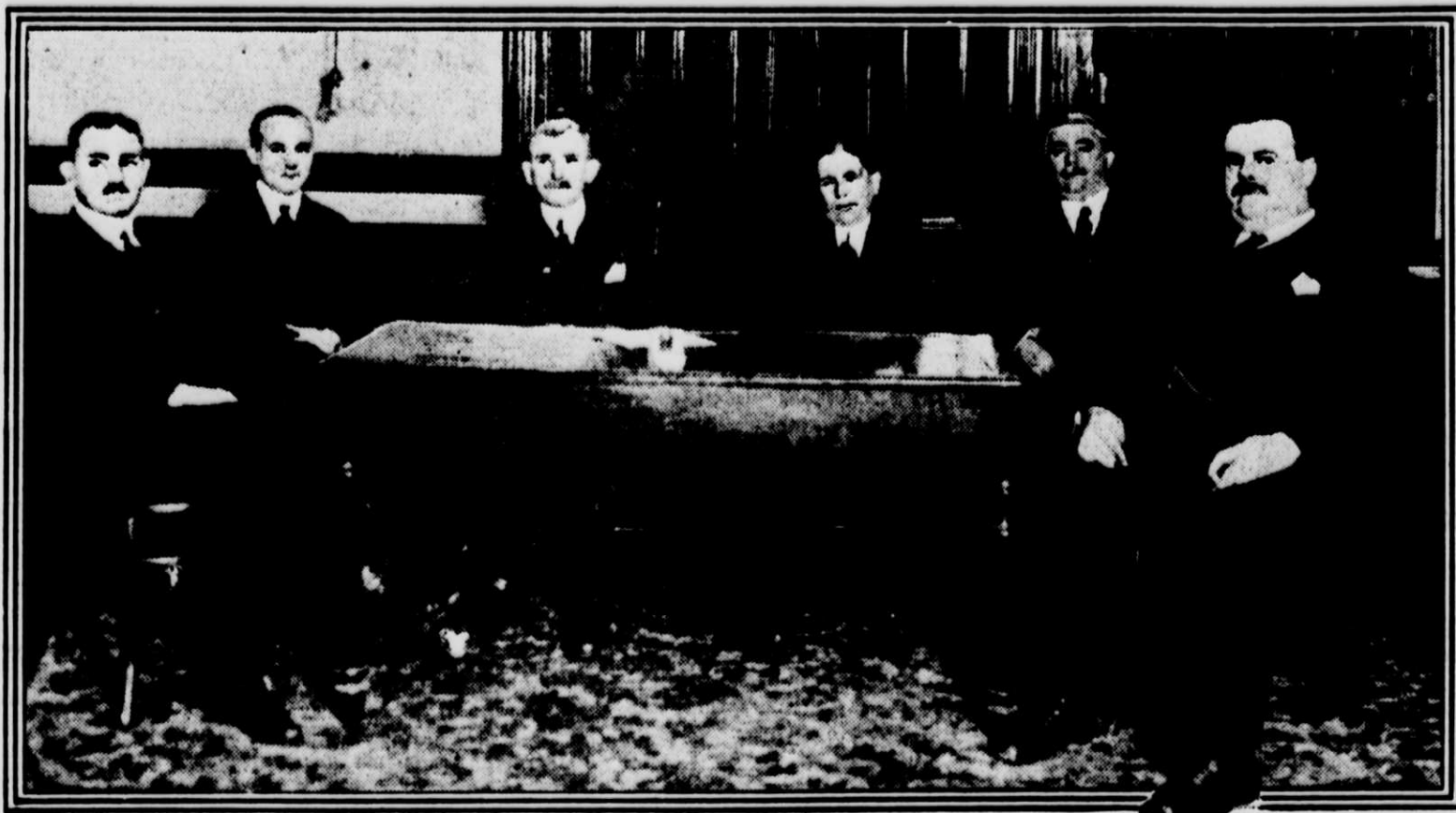
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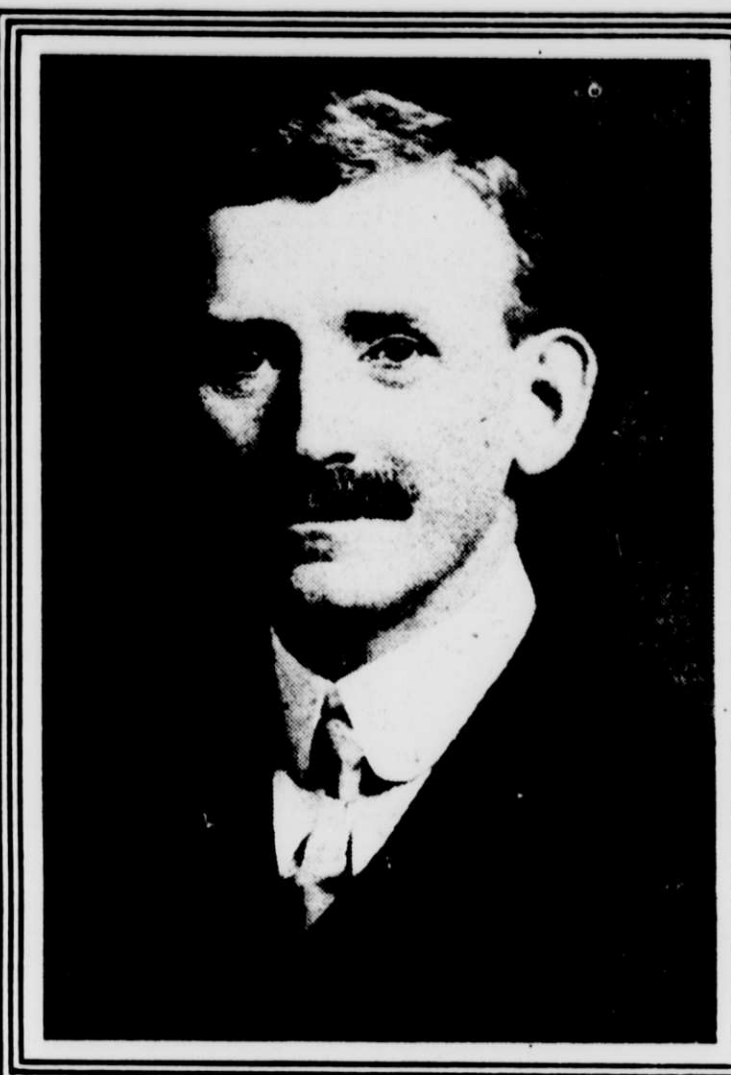
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Left to right—Patrick H. Bird, Chairman House Committee; William L. Kavanagh, Secretary; Leader Frank J. Goodwin, President of the Board of Aldermen Frank L. Dowling, Joseph Kelly, Treasurer; William Glennon, Vice-President.



Frank J. Goodwin.

chanced little. In this he says he has been most fortunate. A majority of the residents are Irish or of Irish descent.

Goodwin lives at 328 West Twenty-second street, is married, and has three boys, all voters. He has one grandchild. He was born in Eighteenth street near Seventh avenue and has never voted outside of the district. His father and mother settled in the district in the early '40s and lived there all their lives.

One of the model political clubhouses in the city is maintained by the voters of the district at 287 West Twenty-fifth street, near Eighth avenue. It was built in the days of Sheehan for the purpose and was originally known as the Pequet Club. It carried this name until Sheehan had been eliminated from the politics of the district. Then Goodwin and his followers swung to the view of the people of the district the name of the Horatio Seymour Tammany Club, and that is the present name of the organization.

The building is three stories in height, with a meeting room on the main floor. One third up is the lounge room of the club. Here are billiard and pool tables, and pinocle is one of the favorite pastimes of the members. Goodwin himself is a fiend at the game and may be found at one of the tables nightly with a stack of chips in front of him, putting away at a big cigar. He is not a total abstainer, but seldom drinks. He may be found on the job every night. Seated not far from him, right at the top of the staircase, is likely to be found Alderman Frank Dowling. He is there almost every night unless he is out on business for the constituents of the district. Not far away you will probably see Assemblyman Peter P. McElligott, who represented the district at Albany for seven years.

Tom Smith, who was for years a resident of the district, but moved uptown, drops in often. He says it is too long since he has stayed away from home, and his interest in the affairs of the section is so keen that he is retained as a member of the board of directors.

His place as leader came to him by appointment by the general committee of the district, and no one has even suggested contesting his place. He succeeded the late John J. Horan, who had taken the place of Francis J. Lantry. His political headquarters are in the Tammany Club, at 328 West Twenty-second street, from Fortieth street to Fifth street and from Lexington avenue to the East River.

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had a good working staff. Goodwin had 2,070 out of the 2,800 cast. That ended the battle and peace has since reigned.

"I have had more primary fights than any other leader in Tammany Hall," said Goodwin, "and I still remain in the game. I was born right here where I have had all my fights, and the people know all the good and bad there is to be known about me. I have had hard battles, too, for Sheehan was a power in his day, and then Big Bill came along with a lot of strength. Both of them beat me, but I won back my laurels and still hold them."

Since Goodwin entered politics a great many years ago he has had many city jobs. He began as a district captain, from which place he was elected as Alderman, then Councilman, and was later made a Deputy Commissioner in the Department of Water Supply. Then he was Superintendent of Sewers, a Deputy Commissioner of Charities, and is now Deputy City Clerk. As he enumerated his political places he smiled as he remarked: "If I keep on I suppose I shall have a knowledge of city affairs."

The leader said that his club did a lot of charity work. All young men of the district are expected to join the club, the dues of which are 25

## EDWARD F. BOYLE TELLS SECRET OF LEADER'S POWER

Edward F. Boyle, president of the Board of Elections, is the Tammany Hall leader in the Sixteenth Assembly district. He is a lawyer and a public accountant and has been closely identified with municipal affairs for a number of years.

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By EDWARD F. BOYLE, President of the Board of Elections.

TO say that the district leaders of Tammany Hall are the secret of its power and influence is to presuppose that there are no Democrats in the various districts that have as good or better capacity for leadership. We know this is not so. In my own district I know of several who have the necessary ability for successful leadership. Indeed, if this were not so generally it would spell the end of Tammany Hall. Many men

are present in our ranks have splendid capacity for leadership, but would not or could not accept the job, which, although it means power, means also great responsibility and personal sacrifice.

The organization is the thing that counts. Good leadership in the various districts and at the head of the organization as a whole, is of course essential to its complete well-being, but subordination and at times self-sacrifice are necessary, both on the part of the leaders and the privates in the ranks. Some have doubted the soundness of this proposition in the past and others will do doubt do so in the future. "Backing the organization" is what it is called in the vernacular, which has been found to be a very profitable pastime for those who do the "backing."

All this is not to say that the organization as such cannot be affected by the character of leadership in the Assembly districts. It does mean, however, that the traditions, the customs and the practices which have grown up in the course of the history of Tammany Hall, running back more than 125 years, have become an unwritten law of the organization, higher in sanction than any written code which it might enact, and this law is surprisingly well known by its members, down to the humblest. It requires a standard of leadership, below

which the other evening he was engaged in his favorite pastime of trying to separate some of his elaborated from their checks at pinocle. He turned his seat over to one of his associates and went to one of the committee rooms on the top floor, where he produced a huge scrap book in which he had the records of his many battles. As he turned over the leaves he chuckled as he recounted that he had not had a contest since 1907. At that time Peter Garvey, one of Devery's old lieutenants, got the notion that he was the right man to take care of the political destinies of the district. When the votes came to be counted it was found that Goodwin

## THE DISTRICT LEADER'S QUALITIES.

THE right type of district leader measures up to the following specifications in the opinion of Edward F. Boyle, president of the Board of Elections and Tammany leader of the Sixteenth Assembly district: He has—

- A capacity for intense human sympathy.
  - A cheerful, responsive and generous disposition.
  - Temperate habits.
  - Executive ability.
  - Political sagacity.
  - Infinite patience.
  - The capacity to be a good listener.
- He is—
- A good mixer.
  - A master of details.
  - A man of action.

cents a month. Mr. Goodwin smiled as he talked of his experiences with some of his constituents. The name Horatio Seymour had not long been exposed to view when one evening a man called and said he would like to speak to Mr. Seymour. He was told that Mr. Seymour, who had once been Governor of the State, was dead and that the living representative of the club carrying his name was Mr. Goodwin, who sat down and talked with the young man. This visitor said he had called to join the club, and he did. He is now a member and has served on many important committees.

Another story was of a different sort. A stranger called at the club seeking for aid to bury his child, who lay dead at his home a few blocks away. The man admitted that he had not lived in the district long and had never voted in the district. A hurried investigation showed that he had told the truth about his child, and Goodwin employed a undertaker and the child was given proper burial. In the course of the story the man said he did not want the leader to pay the bill but to guarantee its payment. The bill was paid by Goodwin and he was repaid every dollar of the amount. The man is now a member of the Seymour Club and one of the leaders' staunchest supporters.

No man living in the district who holds a interest has ever been permitted to contribute one cent to the club for political purposes. But once in twenty-two years the district goes against the candidates of Tammany Hall, and that was when Seth Low was elected Mayor of New York. Low won by 1,000 votes in the district. In summing up his political career Goodwin divided credit for his success with Frank Dowling. He said:

"Dowling and I have been most attentive to the job and we attribute to that the success of our district. We are here seven nights a week. We give our best judgment to the affairs of our district and we are ready to give the helping hand to any and every one who comes to us for support. I maintain that a man who has not political interests may need the service of a friend. We try to act the part of a friend. The fact that I am continued here as their representative gives me the right to say that I am the leader of the people of the district for their best interests."

He has—

- A capacity for intense human sympathy; a cheerful, responsive and generous disposition; temperate habits; executive ability; political sagacity; infinite patience; the capacity to be a good listener.

He is—

- A good mixer; a master of details; a man of action.

Just a few words: A prominent reformer in discussing the Tammany Hall organization said in my presence: "I am one thing I have noted about Tammany Hall leaders: they are not hypocrites."

I think he was right. That said never gets very far in the councils of the Tammany Hall organization.

Next week's article in the series on district leaders of Tammany Hall will deal with John F. Curry, Councilman of Records of the Sixteenth district, and John V. Corey and William C. Blaney, who have dual leadership in the Eighteenth Assembly District.

## "MUFFLERS FOLLOW WAR"

THE fashion of wearing mufflers follows wars—such is the observation made by an old New York woman who has seen the changes and recurrence of styles in this country for more than a half century.

Just as the cranioform in the early or gray uniform wrapped around the throat a rainbow muffler, so the woman may see in the Fifth avenue windows that the heavy, long muffler is as proper today as it was in the past.

"Mufflers follow wars," declares an observer, "because the women who follow the soldiers, and hence those at home follow the style of the soldiers' demand."

The Spanish war could be cited as an exception to this rule. American soldiers in the trenches, as much as for mufflers as for any other article of dress, had no mufflers were in six years of the war and decidedly they are fashionable today.

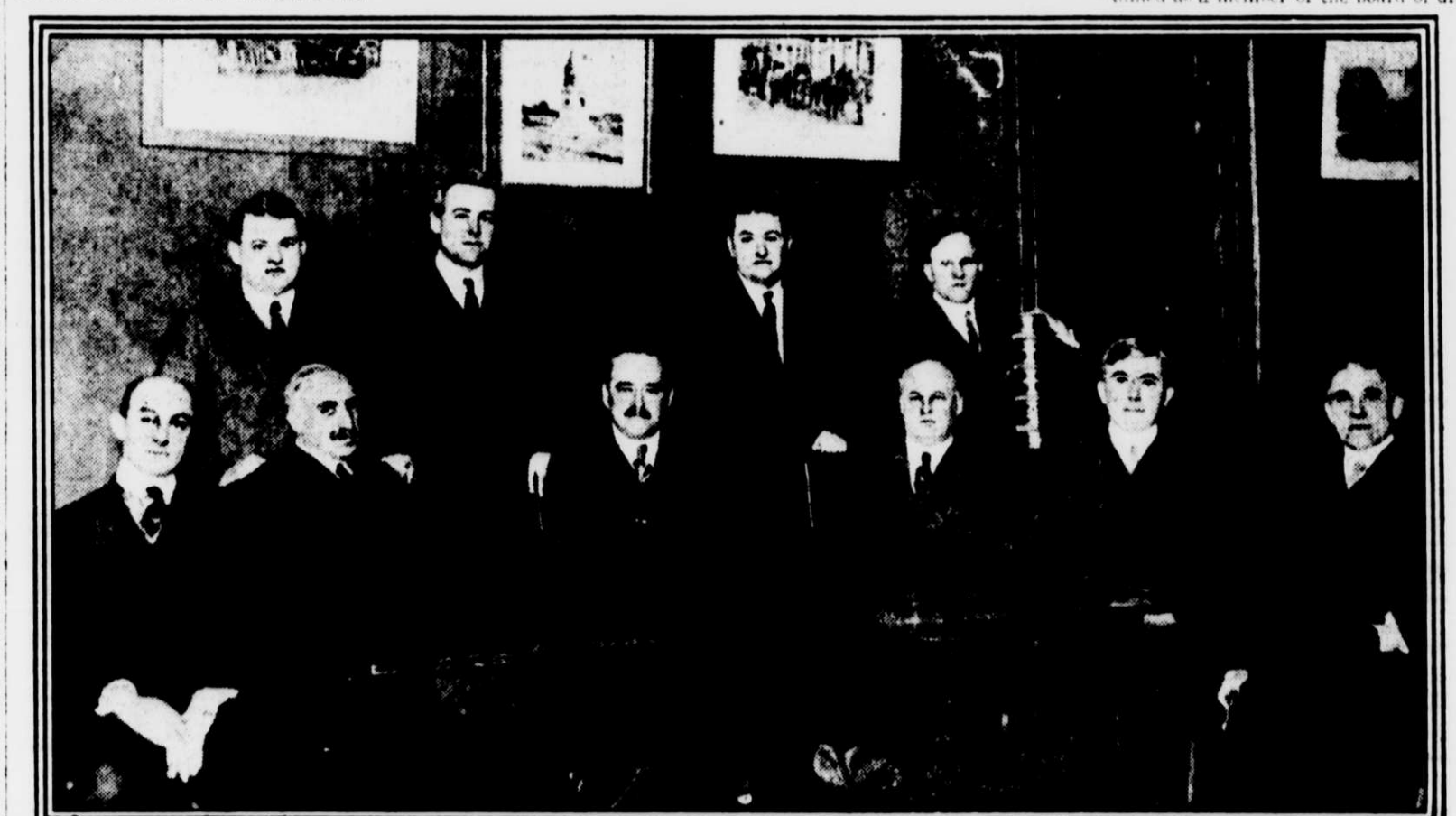
Grandfather's muffler was made in some shape as the fashion of the day for both men and women, wide and long and made of heavy thick material. But it was made of knitted or knitted material, and it earned the name of rainbow, for the thing which approached it in form and effect was the crazy quilt of those days. Grandfather even went so far as to wear a shawl, like grandfather's, as some old photographs show, as soldiers will evidence.

Today the mufflers or neckties are of different materials, but of the same form as of old. They are shown for wearers of both sexes in brilliant solid colors of ordinary blue or the angora. One can purchase a muffler for \$1 or \$10. In pattern, neither doesn't make them any more.

The late Queen Victoria of England was noted for her multiple wearing of all English women knit them for the post as a standing indoor garment. The Queen made them for women whose valor had attracted for attention. The "Victoria shawl" became almost as coveted as the Victoria cross. Perhaps the relative practicality of the two articles had something to do with that.

Even the war time wearing of the muffler is an art. It may be thrust over the shoulders with both ends hanging down the back, or only one end may be tossed back, affording the most swaggy look. Mufflers worn thus always have been in vogue in Latin American countries, where the natives have the Spanish custom of covering the lower part of the face in frosty weather. This Mexican throws back his serape shawl and does the Argentine his poncho. In the war days we of colder climes became afflicted with this garment for comfort and health.

The family doctor thinks they are unhealthy, weakening the protection the organs of the neck and head. But who will not do what the doctor says when there are no set fashions?



Left to right, seated—Alderman John T. Eagan, Moses Greenbaum, Leader Edward F. Boyle, Edward R. Carroll, John G. McTigue, Michael Haggerty. Standing, left to right—Harry Conry, James H. Quinn, Assistant District Attorney; James G. Wallace, John J. McQuade, Financial Secretary.

demanded that he be seated with them. The credentials committee after deliberation threw out both delegations and the Seventh district was not represented that year.

When the season for primaries came along the following year Goodwin was still smarting from the beating Devery had given him, but he had worked hard to repair his losses. He and Frank Dowling entered into a combination to beat Devery and did it with such a decisive vote that the best police chief New York ever had decided he had had enough of politics and retired as an active participant in the game. Sheehan had been a supporter of Devery and had aided him in every way he could. There was no denying that Sheehan knew every trick of the game and Devery admitted that the old time leader had been of value to him in the campaign. Devery had named Dick Butler for the Assembly when he was in power and things went along swimmingly until Dowling and the Goodwin forces combined. Then the props of the outlaw candidate were knocked from under him.

Although the choice of the people of the district, Devery never had the satisfaction of being recognized as a

leader in the councils of Tammany Hall. He presented himself with his credentials, but the executive committee fell back on one of the rules of the organization, which in effect says that the members shall decide who their associates shall be. Devery was not wanted, it being argued that he was not the kind of man suited to act with the executive committee in handling the political affairs of the Tammany organization, and he was told he could not come in. He appealed to the courts in New York, ever had decided he had had enough of politics and retired as an active participant in the game.

While Goodwin was out among his constituents building up his political machine he was also keeping his ear to the ground for rambles inside Tammany Hall. Charles E. Murphy had come to the front as the probable head of the organization. Goodwin decided to support him, and has been one of his adherents ever since.

After Sheehan realized that he had lost his hold on the district in which he had so long held sway he gave up his interest in the political game and finally moved to New Rochelle, where he recently died. For many years

Goodwin and Sheehan had been close friends, but after their political battles they were never again on the same terms as before. It was quite different with Bill Devery. He realized, as one man expressed it, "that he did not fit" and at a picnic given by Tom Foley he and Goodwin met. Walking up to Devery, Goodwin extended his hand, saying, "Chief, I want to shake hands with you." Bill grasped the extended hand, shook it warmly, and in a few minutes the two political opponents were off in a corner talking about the old days in the district. Devery has since moved down to Brooklyn and does not get to the old neighborhood often, although he still owns considerable real estate in the section. There is one event that Devery seldom misses, and that is the annual ball of the Goodwin Club.

The Seventeenth Assembly district runs from Eighteenth street north to Thirty-first street, west of Seventh avenue to the North River. It has twenty-six election districts and 6,500 registered voters. The district has lost a number of factories and there is less employment for the men in its confines than formerly, but the leader says the character of the people has

rectors of the club. Alfred J. Talley, who is a lawyer and was political manager for Edward Swann when the latter successfully ran for District Attorney last year, is also a native of the district. For years he was an important factor in its councils, and while he no longer lives there he is a frequent caller at the clubhouse. Municipal Court Justice Thomas F. Noonan spends all his spare time in helping to solve the problems of the district.

When Mr. Goodwin was seen in his club the other evening he was engaged in his favorite pastime of trying to separate some of his elaborated from their checks at pinocle. He turned his seat over to one of his associates and went to one of the committee rooms on the top floor, where he produced a huge scrap book in which he had the records of his many battles. As he turned over the leaves he chuckled as he recounted that he had not had a contest since 1907. At that time Peter Garvey, one of Devery's old lieutenants, got the notion that he was the right man to take care of the political destinies of the district. When the votes came to be counted it was found that Goodwin



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